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### The Religion of Traffickers: La Santa Muerte

Mexico is a country that is predominantly dominated by religion. Catholicism has a big influence in the cotiende life of mexicans and plays a major role in the culture and decision making process. Drug traffickers in Mexico have developed their own culture to keep unifying ties. The big influence of Catholicism in Mexico has disencourage new members to join or members to quit a cartel. The unholy crimes members have to commit to be successful, or to survive, in the illegal drug industry is a dealbreaker. To the surprise of many, drug traffickers are actually very religious. Drug traffickers have turned to a different religious practice that is appealing due to its ideological ties to Catholicism. The cult has served to recruit new members, and to create a peace of mind for those who commit the unholy crimes. Drug traffickers honor La Santa Muerte (Saint Death). Contrary to Catholicism, where killing another human is the most horrendous crime that could be committed against God, those who follow La Santa Muerte believe that she does not judge or punish, but is fair. They see La Santa Muerte as their utmost protector and as the scapegoat that leads to a lack of remorse towards the dehumanizing crimes they are forced commit to stay in business.

Drug trafficking increased in Mexico after the fall of world famous colombian drug trafficker Pablo Escobar. United States is the country that has the most cocaine consumption. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jose Velasco Cruz, several lectures, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, January-March 2019.

Mexico became the main cocaine supplier for the world with the inauguration of NAFTA 1988.<sup>2</sup> The North America treaty created new opportunities and pathways for drug traffickers. The ports and routes inaugurated for the exchange of common goods between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.<sup>3</sup> Illegal drug traffickers used these points of entry to exchange drugs between borders. Mexico became the supplier of drugs to the United States because of its shared border. The large demand for cocaine caused the illegal drug industry to rapidly grow, demanding more people to get involved in order to keep it moving. The promise of quick easy money, that will lead to a better life, became attractive towards the struggling population of Mexico.<sup>4</sup> Mexico's illegal drug trade grew and now there are powerful cartels that run the country. Cartel influence led to the practice of a cult that promises to protect its members, and appeal to new recruits.

The origins of La Santa Muerte are unknown but it is believed her creation came from a mixture of Catholicism and beliefs associated with Aztec goddess Mictecacihuatl.<sup>5</sup> Mictecacihuatl translates to the "Lady of the Death." Aztecs believed that she was the queen of the underworld and would protect the bones of the dead.<sup>6</sup> La Santa Muerte and La Virgen de Guadalupe share similarities in their appearance, altars, and religious prayers. La Santa Muerte is depicted as a skeletal figure. Her body posture and attire resemble La Virgen de Guadalupe. Similarly to La Virgen de Guadalupe, who wears a dark green veil, La Santa Muerte wears a white veil. The most typical depiction of La Santa Muerte is her holding a scythe on one hand and the world globe in the other.<sup>7</sup> The color of her veil can vary in different altars and

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>5</sup> Latina Magazine, and Latina Magazine. "7 Things to Know About La Santa Muerte, Mexico's Folk Saint of Death." HuffPost, HuffPost, 25 Oct. 2016, [www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la\\_b\\_8385476](http://www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la_b_8385476).

<sup>6</sup> *Mictecacihuatl*. <https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoypizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXW06uco/wiki/Mictecacihuatl.html>

<sup>7</sup> Integrals, Serveis Funeraris. "La Santa Muerte." Àltima, Serveis Funeraris Integrals, [www.altima-sfi.com/es/tanatopedia/la-santa-muerte/](http://www.altima-sfi.com/es/tanatopedia/la-santa-muerte/).

interpretations, but it is most commonly white. Some versions of La Santa Muerte depict her holding a clock or a set of scales instead of the globe and the scythe.<sup>8</sup>

Mexico is a country dominated by Catholicism. Their main religious devotion is towards La Virgen de Guadalupe because of her apparition to Juan Diego on December 12, 1531 in La Villa, Mexico City.<sup>9</sup> Her apparition sparked the faith of Christianity in the indigenous people of Mexico, hence they abandoned their previously held religious beliefs and turned Catholic. La Virgen de Guadalupe was the first Catholic religious figure that was mestiza, meaning she looked like the indigenous people of Mexico instead of European. The dark skin, dark eyes, and dark hair made all of Mexico fall in love with her. Mexicans pray to her, trust her, love her, and worship her more than God or Jesus. She holds the most religious authority in Mexico. Judging by Mexicans' strong devotion towards La Virgen de Guadalupe, the strong devotion towards La Santa Muerte can be understood. La Santa Muerte is a female religious figure as well. Those who worship her, hold her up to the same powerful standards as La Virgen de Guadalupe.

Both the Mexican government and the Catholic church have renounced any sort of association with La Santa Muerte. Mexico's former president Felipe Calderon (2006-2012), declared La Santa Muerte as Mexico's number one religious target and enemy. Calderon's decision was made due to a significant amount of Mexican drug traffickers having paraphernalia of La Santa Muerte in their possession at the time of arrest.<sup>10</sup> The Catholic church says she is associated with the devil and satanic worship. The cult of La Santa Muerte was growing fast which alarmed the Vatican and they decided to speak publicly on the matter. "It's not religion

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<sup>8</sup>Huffschnid, Anne, and Anne Huffschnid. "From Padre Mugica to Santa Muerte? Liberation Spirits and Religious Mutations in Urban Space in Latin America." Academia.edu, [www.academia.edu/11799927/From\\_Padre\\_Mugica\\_to\\_Santa\\_Mu](http://www.academia.edu/11799927/From_Padre_Mugica_to_Santa_Mu)

<sup>9</sup>"Juan Diego y Las Apariciones De La Virgen De Guadalupe." México Desconocido, 12 Dec. 2018, [www.mexicodesconocido.com.mx/juan-diego-y-las-apariciones-del-tepeyac.html](http://www.mexicodesconocido.com.mx/juan-diego-y-las-apariciones-del-tepeyac.html).

<sup>10</sup>Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death: Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

just because it's dressed up like religion," said Gianfranco Ravasi, President of the Vatican's Pontifical Council for Culture. "It's a blasphemy against religion. Everyone is needed to put the brakes on this phenomenon, including families, churches and society," he said in 2013 when he spoke against the worship of La Santa Muerte.<sup>11</sup> The Catholic church has unsuccessfully tried to eradicate the cult of La Santa Muerte. Regardless of its lack of recognition and disapproval by the Catholic Church, La Santa Muerte is prayed to following the Catholic style of praying. Ironically, the majority of those who recognize La Santa Muerte also follow Catholicism. She is summoned under the name of The son, The God, and The Virgin Mary.<sup>12</sup> The altars made to La Santa Muerte mimic the altars made for La Virgen de Guadalupe. The offerings vary but typically include fruits, incense, alcoholic beverages, coins, candy, and candles.<sup>13</sup> The way La Santa Muerte is prayed to is the same way La Virgen de Guadalupe is prayed to, that is with the rosary, candles, and utmost respect. Similar to La Virgen de Guadalupe, they believe that La Santa Muerte acts on the behalf of God's will.<sup>14</sup>

La Santa Muerte is greatly worship by cartels and by the poor class in Mexico. Religion is a way to bring and tie people together. It is all inclusive for all members, no matter race, gender, or socioeconomic background. The cult has served a purpose of linking criminals into an all inclusive religious web. The violent nature and thirst power of the cartels leads to mistrust. Most people who join cartels are lower class man who seek to climb the social ladder. The illegal drug industry provides easy pathway to ascend in the social ladder. Those who were at the bottom can fast acquire money and power and belong to a higher status of society. Loyalty is a

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<sup>11</sup> Latina Magazine, and Latina Magazine. "7 Things to Know About La Santa Muerte, Mexico's Folk Saint of Death." HuffPost, HuffPost, 25 Oct. 2016, [www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la\\_b\\_8385476](http://www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la_b_8385476).

<sup>12</sup> Integrals, Serveis Funeraris. "La Santa Muerte." Àltima, Serveis Funeraris Integrals, [www.altima-sfi.com/es/tanatopedia/la-santa-muerte/](http://www.altima-sfi.com/es/tanatopedia/la-santa-muerte/).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Carey, Lydia. "Everything You Need to Know About Santa Muerte." Culture Trip, 9 Dec. 2017, [theculturetrip.com/north-america/mexico/articles/everything-you-need-to-know-about-santa-muerte/](http://theculturetrip.com/north-america/mexico/articles/everything-you-need-to-know-about-santa-muerte/).

hard quality to acquire when involved in the illegal drug trade. Treason is popular because those who join have a natural thirst for power, are money driven, and lack morals. Drug traffickers will do anything in exchange for the right price, or a higher rank in the in the cartel. Cartel leaders turn to family bonds and La Santa Muerte to create trust in the industry.<sup>15</sup> They refer to her as o “La Flaquita”, “La Niña Blanca”, “Angel Vengador”, and “La Santisima”. She is known as the protector of the ‘narcotraficantes’ and criminals.<sup>16</sup> “Devotees of La Santa Muerte are found in large numbers inside prisons, on the one hand, and in urban areas where the prisoners’ families live.”<sup>17</sup> Such devotees are in prison due to cartel related crimes. Initially the most popular prison tattoo, amongst latinos, was La Virgen de Guadalupe. Now, she has been replaced with the figure of La Santa Muerte because they believe she would grant them protection, and help them cause harm.<sup>18</sup><sup>19</sup>

Practitioners believe that La Santa Muerte forgives every sin, including murder, and will continue to protect her worshipers.<sup>20</sup> She is seen as more powerful than Jesus because death took Jesus’s life on the cross. Therefore, she is seen as the only super natural force that was able to defeat Jesus, and by defeating Jesus she also proved to be more powerful than God himself.<sup>21</sup>

The worship of La Santa Muerte has been going on in secret since the 1950’s.<sup>22</sup> The first links with drug trafficking and La Santa Muerte appeared in 1989 when a drug trafficking group

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<sup>15</sup>Jose Velazco Cruz, several lectures, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, January-March 2019.

<sup>16</sup>“La Santa Muerte y Su Vínculo Al Narcotráfico.” Telemundo San Antonio, Telemundo San Antonio, 27 Jan. 2016, [www.telemundosanantonio.com/noticias/local/La-Santa-Muerte-y-su-v\\_nculo-al-narcotr\\_fico\\_TLMD---San-Antonio-366706731.html](http://www.telemundosanantonio.com/noticias/local/La-Santa-Muerte-y-su-v_nculo-al-narcotr_fico_TLMD---San-Antonio-366706731.html).

<sup>17</sup>Kristensen, Regnar. "La Santa Muerte in Mexico City: The Cult and Its Ambiguities." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47.3 (2015): 543-66. Web.

<sup>18</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>19</sup> Kristensen, Regnar. "La Santa Muerte in Mexico City: The Cult and Its Ambiguities." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47.3 (2015): 543-66. Web.

<sup>20</sup>Huffschmid, Anne, and Anne Huffschmid. "From Padre Mugica to Santa Muerte? Liberation Spirits and Religious Mutations in Urban Space in Latin America." Academia.edu, [www.academia.edu/11799927/From\\_Padre\\_Mugica\\_to\\_Santa\\_Mu](http://www.academia.edu/11799927/From_Padre_Mugica_to_Santa_Mu)

<sup>21</sup>Alcala, Gaytan, and Felipe. "Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica.

[http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004)

<sup>22</sup> Kristensen, Regnar. "La Santa Muerte in Mexico City: The Cult and Its Ambiguities." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 47.3 (2015): 543-66. Web.

Los Narcosatánicos were apprehended after conducting a series of murders under a satanic ritual.

<sup>23</sup> They were under the leadership of Cuban-American narco, Adolfo Constanzo.<sup>24</sup> Their location was Matamoros, Tamaulipas in Mexico, and their main business was drug trafficking. The rituals were conducted with the belief that La Santa Muerte would guarantee success in their drug operations. The bones of the victims were converted into amulets that the members of the cartel would wear for protection.<sup>25</sup> Police man found a statue of La Santa Muerte next to the sacrificed human remains.<sup>26</sup> However, the practice of honoring La Santa Muerte has evolved human sacrifices are rare, although not unusual.

The cult of La Santa Muerte quickly gained attention in the lower income neighborhoods and communities. Today it is estimated that 10 million Mexicans follow this cult, which is around 5% of Mexico's City's population.<sup>27</sup> The primary leader of this cult in Mexico is Enriqueta Romero, also known as Doña Queta. She accidentally exposed the cult of La Santa Muerte to the public in 2009. Romero created the first sanctuary to honor La Santa Muerte. She created what would equivalent of a church in Catholicism. She placed a big statue of La Santa Muerte outside of her home in Tepito, one of the poorest neighborhoods of Mexico City. The link between drug traffickers and La Santa Muerte also has to do with the location of Doña Queta's sanctuary. Tepito is a dangerous neighborhood. Its primarily occupants are drug

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<sup>23</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. "Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica. [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004)

<sup>24</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>27</sup> Latina Magazine, and Latina Magazine. "7 Things to Know About La Santa Muerte, Mexico's Folk Saint of Death." HuffPost, HuffPost, 25 Oct. 2016, [www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la\\_b\\_8385476](http://www.huffpost.com/entry/7-things-to-know-about-la_b_8385476).

traffickers, prostitutes, kidnappers, and assassins. The uprising of La Santa Muerte was inevitably linked to illicit activity.<sup>28</sup>

Lacking the protection of a higher being, while still believing in Catholicism, people involved in the illegal drug industry turned to La Santa Muerte.<sup>29</sup> Wives, or girlfriends, of drug traffickers are credited with the popularization of the belief in La Santa Muerte.<sup>30</sup> In the drug trafficking industry, most commonly, women play a submissive role. They are primarily ‘housewives’. Women would stay at home, while their male partners would go out to work in the illegal drug trade. However, since the illegal drug trade is a family business, their sons would inevitably get involved in the violent business as well. The business has high rate of mortality, so the potential chances of them losing their sons or husbands on that day are high. One of the purposes of religion is to believe in a higher power that would protect its followers. However, the sinful activities committed by drug traffickers would not grant the protection from God or La Virgen de Guadalupe. It would be ironic to ask God to protect the life of their husband, or son, as they go kill another human being. In addition, their criminal activities would be shunned by the church. Housewives felt helpless not being able to help their partners, or sons, spiritually or physically.

Housewives are the nucleus of the home and family, hence dictate the religion of the family. Once La Santa Muerte gained popularity amongst the housewives, the whole family became worshipers of La Santa Muerte.<sup>31</sup> Aside from housewives being devotees to La Santa

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<sup>28</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>29</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. “Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica.  
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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>31</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. “Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica.  
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Muerte, so are the drug traffickers themselves: “traffickers of heroin, marijuana, cocaine, and methamphetamines offer black candles to Saint Death in soliciting both protection from and harm for business rivals and drug enforcement agents.”<sup>32</sup> Traffickers also ask La Santa Muerte to conceal their drug merchandise “from the DEA, Mexican army, and federal police, among others, with her protective black cloak.”<sup>33</sup> Illegal drug traffickers can make up to a 600% profit, with such a magnitude value of money, it is not surprising that dealers try to every possible option, natural and supernatural, to secure their product.<sup>34</sup>

Powerful and famous drug lords are devoted to La Santa Muerte, which sparked the rest of drug traffickers to follow the religious practice. The head of El Cartel del Golfo Gilberto García Mena, alias El June, was captured in 2001. He was arrested after being found in his safe house: a secret underground bunker. With him, he had a statue of La Santa Muerte.<sup>35</sup> It has been claimed that Mena still has an altar to La Santa Muerte in his prison cell, showcasing his high devotion even though he got caught.<sup>36</sup> Angel Jacome Gamboa, responsible for the deaths of 12 police men, formed part of the Tijuana Cartel as a hitman assassin.<sup>37</sup> Gamboa worked right under famous drug lord, and leader of the Tijuana cartel Teodoro Garcia Simental, alias ‘El Teo’.<sup>38</sup> At the time of Gamboa’s arrest, his revolver had a “gold embossed image of La Santa Muerte on the handle.”<sup>39</sup> World famous Mexican kidnapper Daniel Arizmendi Lopez, alias ‘El Mochaorejas’ (the ear chopper), was captured in 1998 after having successfully kidnapped 18 people. He

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<sup>32</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>36</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. “Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica. [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004)

<sup>37</sup> “Mexico General Battles Tijuana Drug Traffickers.” *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 18 Apr. 2009, [www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mexico-drugs-general18-2009apr18-story.html](http://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-mexico-drugs-general18-2009apr18-story.html).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>39</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

received his alias because he would cut off part of his victims ear and send it to their family to increase the pressure for a fast and complete ransom.<sup>40</sup> At the time of his arrest, there was a big shrine for La Santa Muerte at his home. He asked the police to allow him to take one of the many figurines of La Santa Muerte he had with him to prison. Oddly enough, the police granted his request and Arizmendi set up his own altar in prison.<sup>41</sup> Although not involved with drug trafficking, his arrest caused the cult of La Santa Muerte to receive world wide media attention for the first time.<sup>42</sup>

The practice of the cult of La Santa Muerte amongst drug lords inspired younger and less powerful drug traffickers to join in. They desire to be as powerful as the drug lords, hence they follow their example. A surprisingly impressive amount of arrest cases of man involved in drug trafficking report an altar to La Santa Muerte in their homes or safe houses.<sup>43</sup> Guards of prisons where there is a big population of inmates tied to drug related crimes have first hand witness the devotion of drug traffickers to La Santa Muerte. Fourty out of 150 prison cells in the maximum security state prison in Morelia, Mexico, have altars to La Santa Muerte. They believe that she will grant them an early release and protect them from the dangers of prison. Common offerings at prison altars include “ lines of cocaine, prison moonshine (known as turbo), cigarettes, and marijuana joints.”<sup>44</sup> Drug traffickers have also been reported wearing a golden pendant of La Santa Muerte in a chain around their necks, which replaced what once used to be a crucifix.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Depalma, Anthony. “Mexico Says It Has Kidnapper Who Cut Wealthy Victims' Ears.” The New York Times, The New York Times, 19 Aug. 1998. [www.nytimes.com/1998/08/19/world/mexico-says-it-has-kidnapper-who-cut-wealthy-victims-ears.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1998/08/19/world/mexico-says-it-has-kidnapper-who-cut-wealthy-victims-ears.html).

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>42</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>43</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. “Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica. [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004)

<sup>44</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

<sup>45</sup> Alcalá, Gaytan, and Felipe. “Santa Entre Los Malditos: Culto a La Santa Muerte En El México Del Siglo XXI. *LiminaR*, Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, Centro de Estudios Superiores de México y Centroamérica. [http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004](http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-80272008000100004)

The strong evident link between La Santa Muerte and illegal drug trafficking has forced the Mexican government to really emphasize her eradication. Under Calderon's presidency, La Santa Muerte was declared the head saint of narcoculture. In 2009, there was a complete demolition of roadside shrines. Calderon's administration believed that by removing the shrines there will be a decrease in the activity and participation of illegal drug traffickers, and grant Calderon the victory against the war on drugs. However, this tactic backfired. Those who are devoted to La Santa Muerte are loyal. Hence, by demolishing shrines made in her honor, only popularized the cult causing an increase in membership. <sup>46</sup>

La Santa Muerte has become the ultimate religious figure for the underground crime world. Its followers are devoted and believe she will keep them safe, and inflict pain on their enemies. Mexico is a country that is overwhelmingly dominated by religion. The strong devotion to La Virgen de Guadalupe has now been replaced by the cult of La Santa Muerte amongst drug traffickers. Believers of La Santa Muerte claim she does not judge, but is rather fair, hence creating a safe space for the horrendous crimes drug traffickers commit. La Santa Muerte is the religion of drug traffickers, and will continue to rise with popularity as more people join the illicit side of the war on drugs. By praying to La Santa Muerte drug traffickers believe they will be able to escape the inevitable, something not even Jesus could escape - death.

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<sup>46</sup> Chesnut, R. Andrew. Devoted to Death Santa Muerte, the Skeleton Saint. New York ; Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Web.

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